



DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

DOES WOMEN'S POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT IMPROVE GENDER BALANCE IN PEACEKEEPING?

A Large N Study of Troop Contributing Countries

Hanna Buznytska

Master's Thesis:	30 higher education credits
Programme:	Master's Programme in International Administration and Global Governance
Date:	2019-02-11
Supervisor:	Amy Alexander
Words:	12 587

Abstract

Although the United Nations has officially recognized an importance of women's participation in peacekeeping, the number of female personnel remains low; thus, scholars have been investigating the factors that may facilitate a broader inclusion of women in peacekeeping operations. In order to contribute to the existing literature on the topic, this study examines whether one specific factor, a country's level of women's political empowerment, has an impact on the level of gender balance in its peacekeeping troops. I link a countries level of women's political empowerment to the involvement of female personnel in peacekeeping missions through the argument about women's interests formulated in the theories about descriptive and substantive representation, and expect that the countries with higher women's political empowerment deploy more women on peacekeeping missions.

This theoretical assumption is tested by conducting a large N study of troop contributing countries using cross-sectional data. In order to do this, multivariate regression analysis, specifically the ordinary least squares method, was employed. The results of the analysis did not support my theoretical expectation, so countries' level of women's political empowerment does not influence women's participation in peacekeeping. However, this conclusion is not definitive due to the limitations caused by data availability.

Key words: peacekeeping operations, gender balance in peacekeeping, women's political empowerment, substantive representation, women's issues

List of Abbreviations

CSO - civil society organization

GLM - generalized linear model

IPI - International Peace Institute

OLS - ordinary least squares

PKO - peacekeeping operation

QoG - Quality of Government

SEA - sexual exploitation and abuse

SRW - substantive representation of women

TCC - troop contributing country

UN - United Nations

UN DPKO - United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

UNSCR 1325 - United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

VAW - violence against women

V-Dem -Varieties of Democracy

WPA - women's policy agency

WPE - women's political empowerment

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1. Introduction

The discussion of the importance of women in peacekeeping began in the 1990s and is still ongoing. The United Nations has recognized that female peacekeepers help to decrease sexual exploitation and abuse of civilians, establish more trustful relationships with a local population, facilitate involvement of local women in the peace process, bring legitimacy to peacekeeping operations (PKOs), and improve their chances of success. In order to ensure that the troop contributing countries deploy more women carrying out a wide variety of tasks on the missions, the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 was adopted in 2000. However, the level of gender balance in peacekeeping still remains low nowadays.

There is a segment of scholarly literature exploring why a contribution of women into peacekeeping is still limited by looking at the obstacles that women willing to take part in peacekeeping missions face as well as the circumstances that might facilitate their broader participation in it (Carreiras 2010, Crawford, Lebovic, & Macdonald 2015, Hudson 2000, Karim & Beardsley 2013, Segal 1995, Olsson 2000). The majority of those studies employs qualitative methods and concentrates on the gender norms and power relations. Just a few studies look at different factors that influence the level of gender balance among peacekeeping troops with quantitative methods. Hence, there is a need for more quantitative studies exploring those factors.

The previous findings indicate that effective protection of women's rights, including women's political rights, promotes inclusion of more women into PKOs (Crawford, Lebovic, & Macdonald 2015). My study expands in this direction by examining the influence of women's political empowerment (WPE), which is related to exercising political authority, on women's presence in peacekeeping. Thus, this thesis aims to explore whether a country's level of women's political empowerment has an impact on the level of gender balance in its peacekeeping troops.

Since there are no previous studies that explored a relationship between a level of WPE and the number of female personnel in PKOs, this thesis makes both a theoretical and empirical contribution to the ongoing academic discussion. I link countries' level of WPE to their level of women's inclusion in PKOs through the argument about women's interests that derives from descriptive and substantive representation theories. Based on these theories, I expect that countries with higher WPE will have higher female inclusion in PKOs. This theoretical assumption is tested by employing multivariate regression analysis using cross-sectional data in order to fulfil the aim of this study.

The results do not support my theoretical expectation; countries' level of WPE does not influence their level of women's inclusion in PKOs. However, because not all the components of WPE were included in the analysis due to data availability, this conclusion is not definitive.

The thesis consists of several sections. The first part of the literature review section discusses the importance of women in peacekeeping, explains the lack of gender balance in peacekeeping, and the factors that might facilitate inclusion of more women in PKOs. The second part concentrates on WPE and discusses descriptive and substantive representation and women's issues, as well as different channels of substantive representation. The literature review is followed by a theoretical explanation of the relationship between WPE and gender balance in peacekeeping. The remaining sections present the research design of the study, diagnostics, results and analysis, and discuss the findings.

2. Literature Review

This section of the thesis reviews the existing literature on the main concepts used in this research. The first part explains why and how women came to be considered important for peacekeeping, and what are the benefits of their presence in PKOs. The second part concentrates on the explanations of the female deficit in peacekeeping and reviews the factors that may raise a level of gender balance in the missions. The last part concentrates on women's political empowerment, substantive representation of women, and the channels of substantive representation that also serve as components of WPE .

2.1. Importance of Women in Peacekeeping

Since 2000, the United Nations (UN) has officially recognized that women's contribution to conflict resolution through their participation in peacekeeping is essential for the success of peacekeeping missions. In addition, addressing the needs of the local women affected by the conflict and assisting them in taking part in building long-lasting peace is viewed as one of the priorities of PKOs. In order to demonstrate the importance of women in peacekeeping, I will discuss the growing international awareness about the issue of broader inclusion of women into PKOs. This part of the thesis will explain how and why it was decided that women have to be more involved in peacekeeping, how the UN obliges the countries to deploy more women to PKOs and pay more attention to women's needs during missions, and what are the effects of women's presence in peacekeeping missions.

2.1.1. Historical Change

Before the 1990s gender issues during peacekeeping were ignored. However, during that decade, the UN started to acknowledge that women face some particular challenges that need to be addressed, and in 1999 the first female units were deployed on two missions in order to improve prosecution of gender-based violence, train specialists on women's rights, support women's

participation in civil and political life, facilitate the establishment of gender-sensitive legislation, and investigate what experiences are unique for women affected by armed conflict (Carey 2001).

Currently, peacekeeping is different from the classic peacekeeping that consisted of monitoring peace agreements between the entities having political power in a conflict by the military personnel, or peacekeeping on the later stages that included the tasks of peace enforcement. PKOs incorporate a wide range of tasks and goals on different dimensions, including military, police, civil and political affairs, refugee issues, human rights, public information, elections, and others. Those changes in the nature of operations have led to a situation under which the local population is directly affected by the mission, thus, it was recognized that women must participate in the operations in order to perform the variety of tasks required to meet the locals' needs (UN DPKO 2000, 7-8). A study conducted by the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN DPKO) has shown that local women trust female peacekeepers more, female negotiators understand and address the needs of local women better than male negotiators, missions with high percentages of female personnel have been successful, and, if at least one third of the peacekeepers are female, local women are likely to join peace committees (Carey 2001, 53-54). Female peacekeepers proved themselves as valuable contributors to the success of peacekeeping in its new form.

The nature of PKOs is different from the nature of a traditional military operation, expanding a peacekeeping operation beyond a battlefield through a focus on humanitarian action. This vision emphasizes peacefulness of the peacekeeping operations, adding some extra tasks for the personnel. Thus, the conventional military training of the soldiers with an emphasis on using violence is not suitable in this type of operation and needs to be combined with training in social work (DeGroot 2001, Carreiras 2010). Although one of the main arguments for increasing the number of female soldiers is that women can perform the same tasks in military operations as men do, it is stressed that there is a fundamental difference between genders that makes the inclusion of women in peacekeeping operations essential for their success (DeGroot 2001, 34).

In order to address the issues regarding a role of women in conflict prevention, resolution, and peacebuilding, as well as the impact of conflict on local women, the UN Security Council has adopted Resolution 1325. It has become the main milestone in the advocacy for bringing attention to women during peacekeeping processes.

2.1.2. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325)

In 2000, the UN Security Council has adopted Resolution 1325. UNSCR 1325 has stressed the need for equal participation and involvement of women in all the efforts regarding peace and security and the need to “mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations” (United Nations 2000). Among the different components, the Resolution has required the member states to

ensure the increase of representation of women in all kinds of institutions and mechanisms regarding conflict management as well as ensure inclusion of a gender component and expand the contribution of women in every operation, especially among military observers, civilian police, and human rights and humanitarian personnel. In addition, UNSCR 1325 has recognized that local women are affected by conflict in a different way than men, so they need to be paid special attention to in terms of protection from gender-based violence, reintegration after the conflict, and support of the women's peace initiatives.

UNSCR 1325 has acknowledged that it is important to achieve gender balance and introduce gender mainstreaming into PKOs. Thus, the Resolution promotes both increasing the number of women holding different positions as well as assessment of all the aspects of operations in terms of their implications for women and men taking into consideration special experiences and concerns of the genders (UN DPKO 2000, 6). The UN has encouraged member states to develop National Action Plans as an instrument of implementation of the Resolution 1325. By September 2018, 76 UN member states (39%) have adopted their plans (WILPF 2018). Despite these efforts, according to UN's statistics from September 2018, only 4 494 uniformed staff members out of 89 986 were women, which constitutes 5% of the personnel (United Nations Peacekeeping, a).

2.1.3. Effects of the Women's Presence in PKOs

Hudson (2000, 21-22) summarizes different contributions of women to peacekeeping operations: women's presence, especially in decision-making, promotes non-discrimination against women; draws attention to sexual misconduct of male peacekeepers; has a positive effect on social relations in a unit; helps in negotiations and communication with local populations since women are perceived as more empathetic and trustworthy by the local population; and may bring back the notion of using force in peacekeeping operations only for self-defense. Those effects of broader inclusion of women into PKOs will be discussed below.

A need for broader inclusion of women in peacekeeping operations has initially emerged in response to the numerous cases of sexual violence perpetrated by the male peacekeepers against female local civilians. Since PKOs have not only a military, but also a humanitarian component, sexual exploitation and abuse has a big impact on establishing a trusting relationship between peacekeepers and locals.

Sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) is connected to the dominance of masculinity in military structures that are reinforced by male peacekeepers through power relations between them and local women. It implies a stereotypical view that naturally men have a high sex drive that they cannot control, thus they must satisfy their sexual needs. In some cases, this view implies that local women initiate sexual relations with the peacekeepers that cannot resist it, overlooking the causes such as

unequal economic power relations (Kronsell 2012, 95-96). The problem of SEA by peacekeepers was recognized as one of the main factors undermining the reputation of peacekeeping.

One of the explanations of why male personnel engage in SEA of civilian women is because they do not have access to other women who would be willing to have sexual relationships with them (Wood 2009, 135). Card (1996, 12) argues that the presence of large numbers of women in military forces on every level would decrease the probability of male soldiers engaging in SEA of civilian women, and well-trained women in military, especially on high-rank positions, would restrain men from using SEA as a symbol of dominance since women would also dominate in the same space through other practices. In addition, women entering male-dominated institutions, such as the military, could potentially lessen sexist bonding practices such as sexual assault (Card 1996, Wood 2009).

The presence of women from the same culture tends to discourage male peacekeepers to exercise their dominance since female personnel serve as monitors of the behaviour of their male colleagues towards the local population in terms of SEA (DeGroot 2001, Carreiras 2010). The high number of women is considered to have an influence on men's actions through softening militarized masculinity in the units and confronting male colleagues about their engagement in abusive practices (Karim & Beardsley 2016, 104).

Women's presence in PKOs has also been shown as beneficial in other cases. The female peacekeepers are perceived as less threatening than male ones by the local population, so they are more capable of establishing positive relations with the locals, especially women, and are able to better serve as mediators (Olsson 2000, 10). It is also easier for the female peacekeepers to be trusted by local women's organizations and to get information from the grassroots. Moreover, both local women and men are more likely to report the cases of sexual violence to women (Carreiras 2010, 479).

Women participating in PKOs can serve as role models of powerful women, so they contribute to changing gender stereotypes about women's capabilities in the host countries. Female peacekeepers are able to help mobilize local women for action, for example encourage them to participate in political life and civil society organizations (Olsson 2000, 9). In addition, when operating in traditionalist local culture, only female peacekeepers can reach out to the local women since they are restricted to communication only with women in public spaces (Kronsell 2012, 107-108). Female personnel can also carry out body searches on women, assist female ex-combatants to reintegrate into the society, and mentor military trainings of local women (Karim & Beardsley 2013, 472).

Generally, women's presence in PKOs is supposed to bring legitimacy to the missions in the eyes of the local population, which impacts meeting the aims of the mission. The encounters of

locals with the peacekeepers shape their judgment about the operation's success through evaluation of their ability to provide security (Kronsell 2012, 103-104). Women are shaping an image of UN PKOs as being more sensitive and responsive to the local culture and needs.

Despite all these benefits, women are still underrepresented in peacekeeping nowadays. This deficit can be explained by the availability of qualified female personnel and gender norms that prevent women from participation in the military. However, there are some factors that further inclusion of women in PKOs. Those obstacles and factors that help raise gender balance in peacekeeping are discussed below.

2.2. Explanations of (Lack of) Gender Balance in PKOs

In this part, I review the main explanations of the female deficit in peacekeeping, such as eligibility pool and gender norms and roles, as well as the factors that may facilitate a better gender balance in PKOs.

2.2.1. Eligibility Pool

One of the explanations of lack of gender balance in peacekeeping is a small eligibility pool. The responsibility of forming troops for sending to a PKO completely lies on a troop contributing country (TCC), so they are responsible for the ratio between male and female personnel. Thus, the gender composition of the PKOs reflects the gender composition of the national military forces, so the low number of women in military around the world in general is the factor that shrinks the pool of available female candidates from every TCC (Karim & Beardsley 2013, 467).

Since the UN DPKO usually works in a crisis mode, it may lead to wary recruitment; moreover, the Department often faces problems to recruit staff of any gender from the contributing member states, and time pressure may facilitate recruiting the already known candidates. Thus, paying attention to gender balance might seem like an obstacle in the short term. However, in the long term, gender balance and gender mainstreaming are supposed to increase the pool of talent, raising the number of eligible female personnel, and help to understand the complexity of the situation (Stiehm 2001, 44).

2.2.2. Gender Norms and Roles

Another explanation of the female deficit in PKOs is connected to the existing gender norms associated with the military. The military is closely connected to masculinity, so the inclusion of women in peacekeeping meets obstacles because of the nature of the military itself as a masculine institution that was created for men. The military is a gendered institution at its core, meaning that the production and distribution of material and symbolic resources is defined by the characteristics associated with masculinity or femininity. Men constitute the absolute majority in terms of the

number of people in general and people in those positions associated with a high rank and access to resources. Moreover, the whole structure of the military is based on a gender division in terms of existing hierarchies and gendered labour (Carreiras 2010, 472). At the core of military culture lies a belief that everything feminine is inferior, and women are reduced to performing their feminine roles. Thus, the success of military masculinity is based on its dominance over femininity (however, there are also hierarchic relationships between multiple masculinities) (Simić 2010, 189). Moreover, not only has the military been influenced by masculinity, but traditionally it has also been a source of defining masculine culture and gender roles, so it is a gendering institution reinforcing gender roles (Carreiras 2010, 473).

Because of the existing gender norms and roles, such as a man as a protector, and a woman as a protected, sending women to the PKOs in the severe conflict zones, where they may engage in combat, might create a political risk for the TCCs' governments. The cases of injury or death of female personnel receive more public attention and create judgment from the TCC's population (such as the case of the American soldier Jessica Lynch¹). These views on participation in combat are reflected in the restrictions for women in military, so in most countries they occupy only medical-related and administrative positions (Karim & Beardsley 2013, 468-469).

In some cases those obstacles may be partially overcome if the factors discussed below are present.

2.2.3. Factors Facilitating Inclusion of Women in PKOs

Hudson (2000, 26-28), drawing from the previous peacekeeping efforts experiences, summarizes several main factors that influence the number of women in PKOs. First, the number of women deployed by states depends on their domestic policies towards women in military forces (Olsson 2000, 3), so the more women are in a state's national military, the more women they would send to the peacekeeping operations. Second, the number of female peacekeepers depends on the clear policy guidelines and strategies for recruitment of women to the missions. Third, the more comprehensive the mandate is, meaning that there is a large civilian component, the more women are included in an operation (Olsson 2000, 12); however, it depends on a level of threat (the higher the probability of being killed during the mission is, the fewer women would be deployed to a mission) (Segal 1995, 762). Fourth, type of leadership culture influences the involvement of women in peacekeeping, meaning that a leader from a gender-sensitive culture, regardless of gender, would recruit more women. Finally, there is a correlation between traditional structures in a TCC and the number of female peacekeepers deployed, so the less traditional role women hold in a society, the

¹ Jessica Lynch was a prisoner of war during the Iraq War in 2003, and her rescue has received a disproportional media coverage.

more likely women from this country would participate in peacekeeping operations (Segal 1995, 770). However, there is a lack of comprehensive studies exploring those factors in details.

The most recent study that thoroughly explores the factors influencing the number of personnel, women and men separately, deployed to PKOs, is a quantitative study conducted by Crawford, Lebovic, and Macdonald (2015). They examine two sets of factors: TCC's characteristics, dividing them into domestic (political and socioeconomic) and international (the role of norms and reputation), and mission's characteristics, in order to determine why TCCs chose to deploy more uniformed female personnel. The study looks at those factors such as protection of women's rights (political, economic, and social) in a country, the level of democracy, the level of socioeconomic equality, the level of modernization, the size of population, and the involvement of a country in the international efforts to advance the status of women. The authors also explore the influence of the location of a mission, the skills required in a mission, and the overall size of the mission.

Crawford, Lebovic, and Macdonald found out that the domestic political factors such as protection of women's rights and the level of democracy have a significant impact specifically on the number of women deployed by a TCC to PKOs (Crawford, Lebovic & Macdonald 2015, 270). The authors argue that the democratic states respecting women's rights view their foreign policy as the extension of their domestic policy, so "when women are fully integrated into a country's armed services, police ranks, and professional (expert) labor force, the decision to volunteer women for global assignments and international missions would essentially become a non-decision" (Ibid., 276). My study will expand on the findings about the influence of protection of women's political rights on the presence of women in peacekeeping by looking at how women's political empowerment (WPE), particularly how representation of women in the national legislative bodies and civil society, impacts the level of gender balance in PKOs. Although the concept of WPE may look similar to protection of women's political rights, they are not the same. The meaning of WPE will be explained in the next section of this thesis.

2.3. Women's Political Empowerment

This section clarifies the concept of WPE, connects it to descriptive and substantive representation of women, and makes an overview of the channels of substantive representation that also serve as the areas where WPE is happening.

2.3.1. Defining Women's Political Empowerment

Although women's empowerment is being widely discussed by academics and policymakers, WPE does not receive much attention compared to economic and social empowerment of women. In their work about WPE, Alexander, Bolzendahl & Jalalzai (2016, 433) define it as "the

enhancement of assets, capabilities, and achievements of women to gain equality to men in influencing and exercising political authority worldwide”. Empowerment has an agentic and dynamic nature. It is a process in which people who were denied the abilities to make choices and have an influence on decision-making institutions acquire them (Ibid.).

The definition provided by the authors encompasses several important issues. First, empowerment is a process of transformation from having no agency to acquiring it. In relation to women as a systematically marginalized group in politics, it is a process of achieving equal levels of political influence with men, as well as representation and integration. Second, women’s political empowerment can be achieved through a process, and not at some specific point like reaching critical mass in parliaments. Political empowerment is not about power that particular individuals have, but about power relations between the groups, and recognition of political authority as the access to power mediated by a state. Third, women’s political empowerment is beneficial to both women and men because it aims to weaken patriarchal structures. It opens access to politics to all members of society by reducing gender inequality, therefore it promotes equal political incorporation (Alexander, Bolzendahl & Jalalzai 2017, 5-6).

The research on the areas of women’s political empowerment usually concentrates on elite actors who hold positions of political authority, elite-challenging actors who influence the state through various informal channels, and citizens who influence the state through existing formal channels (Alexander, Bolzendahl & Jalalzai 2017, 6). In the next parts I will look at legislative bodies, women’s movements, and women’s policy agencies as the areas where women can exercise their political power and further a change of women’s status in society, as well as at substantive representation of women on which the link between those areas and WPE is based.

2.3.2. Descriptive and Substantive Representation and Women’s Issues

Descriptive representation is representation based on the correspondence between the characteristics of the representatives and the represented. This notion looks at the composition of a political institution rather than at its actions (Pitkin 1967, cited in Celis et al. 2008, 100). In descriptive representation, an individual legislator represents their group (Weldon 2002, 1154). However, we need to look at the actions of the representatives towards the represented, and not only commonalities between them. Thus, scholars focus mostly on substantive representation. This type of representation emphasizes the relationship between the representatives and the represented in which the representatives respond to the needs of the represented. Substantive representation looks at what the representatives do and not what they are (Celis et al. 2008, 100). In substantive representation, an individual legislator behaves in a way that is beneficial for women (Weldon 2002, 1154). One of the crucial elements of successful substantive representation of women (SRW)

is adoption of legislation that meets women's needs and interests and affects women's lives more than any other legislative activities in a direct or indirect way (Celis 2009, 97).

Although substantive representation is considered to be the most significant type of representation, successful substantive representation partly depends on the descriptive representation. Phillips (1995, cited in Wängnerud 2009, 52) suggests these two types of representation are linked. She argues that female politicians are more capable to represent women's interests since most women share the same life experiences, for example, bearing and caring for children, education, access to labour market, sexual harassment, and doing unpaid work, thus, they have the same interests. Even though female representatives may not have the exact same experiences as the women they represent, they share the apparent signs of similar life events. Those gendered experiences help female representatives to establish trust with the represented women, and have better communication and develop bonds with them (Childs 2006, 10). Descriptive representation of women may enhance their substantive representation by changing political norms and normalizing women's presence in political processes, thus creating more gender-balanced political culture and enriching the political agenda (Mackay 2008, 130).

The key concepts for SRW are women's interests and women's issues (usually used interchangeably by most scholars). Women's issues can be defined as the issues that affect mainly women for biological or social reasons, and issues that become women's responsibility because of the gendered division of labour (Beckwith & Cowell-Meyers 2007, 555). Women's interests derive from recognizing life circumstances of women, their options for improving their life chances, and advancing their human capabilities. They are socially constructed and vary depending on contexts of time and space (Beckwith 2011, 424-425). Women's issues can also be defined as areas where there is a gender gap in the population; as policies that increase well-being and autonomy of women in society; or concerns about women's life in private sphere emerged because of the existing gender norms (Childs & Krook 2009, 133). Addressing women's issues in politics means that particular policies target women, and have a direct and immediate impact mostly on women, or are brought into agenda by women (Beckwith & Cowell-Meyers 2007, 555).

Since women's experiences are cross-cut with their other identities such as class, race, ethnicity, and sexuality, women's interests are not consistent and may conflict with each other. However, there is a universally shared women's interest in equal participation and setting agenda in public sphere in order to articulate the meaning of women's interests and issues, and bringing the issues that were ignored to the political agenda (Mackay 2008, 128). Although women are a heterogeneous group with various interests, all women's interests usually fall into some of the three categories, such as those related to women's traditional roles, shaped by their biology, in patriarchic

cultures; related to women's participation in the labour market; and related to changing gender roles and achieving gender equality (Celis et al. 2014, 153).

Some scholars argue that women's issues are constructed by those who claim to represent women, others argue that women's issues are articulated in different women's movements through the interaction of women about identifying their current priorities (Childs & Krook 2009, 133). In the next part of this section, I will explore both views by looking at these two types of channels of substantive representation, as well as another channel, women's policy agencies, which serves as a link between them.

2.3.3. Channels of Substantive Representation

2.3.3.1. Legislative Bodies

While discussing women's representation, scholars usually concentrate on the political institutions, specifically parliaments. Dovi (2007) provides several arguments why it is essential to have women in legislative bodies in order to represent women's interests. According to the role model argument, women in parliaments serve as role models motivating women to explore different career paths and raising their confidence. The justice argument states that it is fair to have equal representation of women and men since it reflects the population composition, and helps to compensate for the gender inequalities. The trust argument suggests that female legislators are necessary for creating confidence in political institutions among female citizens because they can have politicians whom they trust. The legitimacy argument states that female representatives increase the legitimacy of democratic institutions. The transformative argument claims that women improve democratic institutions through changing political practices and norms. And, finally, the overlooked interests argument suggests that female legislators improve political agendas since male ones may not be aware of how public policies affect women (307-309).

When it comes to the linkage between descriptive and substantive representation of women in legislative bodies, many scholars aim their attention at the concept of critical mass. The critical mass theory suggests that when the number of women in parliament passes a certain threshold, they stop conforming to the rules of the male-dominated space, and start transforming institutional culture and produce policy change. The supporters of the theory argue that once the critical mass of women in parliament is reached, it legitimizes and encourages the presence of women there, leading to more women being elected. A critical representation threshold, that needs to be passed, usually ranges between 15 and 30 per cent (Beckwith 2007, 28-29). However, the theory is widely criticized. A number of scholars argue that institutional norms, political party affiliation, legislative committee membership, legislative experience, and external political environment may prevent

female parliamentarians from addressing women's issues, as well as that a fewer number of women may be more effective in addressing them (Childs & Krook 2008, 733).

The theory of critical mass of women in the male-dominant institutions has originated from the works of R. M. Kanter (1977) and D. Dahlerup (1988). Kanter (1977, cited in Childs & Krook 2008, 727-728) has looked at the women's status in a large American corporation, and found out that because there were few women in the corporation, they were seen as symbolic representatives of women as a social group. Female employees were reduced to stereotypical gender roles, were under greater scrutiny in terms of their performance, and suffered isolation. Because they were a minority, women found it hard to have some power in the company, so they had to conform to the dominant norms. This situation reinforces the number of women remaining low. However, when the number of women increases, they become differentiated from each other, overcome the obstacles, and are able to act not in accordance with gender stereotypes. Although the number of women matters, Kanter emphasizes that the characteristics of individual women may be more important for overcoming the obstacles, even if the number of women remains low.

The work of Dahlerup extends Kanter's findings into the area of politics. She argues that the minority position of women in politics reflects their minority position in society through sexual harassment, need to adapt to the dominant norms, lack of authority, stereotyping etc. The author, states that when the number of women increases, they should be able to form supportive alliances with each other; and, drawing from the political experiences in Scandinavia, she identifies that 30 per cent of women is a threshold that needs to be reached in order to enable women to make an impact (Dahlerup 1988, cited in Childs & Krook 2008, 730). However, not only the number of women is important, but also critical acts like introducing gender quotas and equality legislation, and women's will to mobilize to improve their status. When the numbers and acts are combined, women are able to achieve critical mass. Like Kanter, Dahlerup also acknowledges that performance of an individual woman may bring more change for women than the number of women in a political institution (Ibid., 731-732). Hence, even though the number of women in legislative bodies is important, increased descriptive representation itself does not guarantee better SRW.

The more recent studies have found that politicians' gender has an important impact on shaping their attitudes. Particularly, the gender gap is mostly observed in ideological affiliation (women tend to be more leftist than men), and in support of new policies, gender quotas, and woman's issues (women tend to be in favour) (however, the differences are mostly observed on issues that are not central to parties) (Wängnerud 2009, 62). Most women in legislative bodies prioritize legislation related to women's issues, and set agenda addressing them, which is the biggest

difference between female and male parliamentarians' legislative activity (Celis et al. 2014, 153; Childs & Krook 2009, 134).

The majority of female politicians view representation of women's interests as a part of their professional duty (Celis et al. 2008, 102; Wängnerud 2009, 62). Female legislators may be encouraged to focus on women's issues because they are viewed not as just individual parliamentarians, but the representatives of women as a category. This perception creates an image of them as experts on women's concerns and motivates them to act differently from their male colleagues (Bratton 2005, 102-103). In addition, the voters may see women in parliaments as more capable of dealing with matters related to traditional women's interests, so focusing on women's interests may also have electoral incentives for female legislators (Ibid., 101).

Thus, since we assume that most women share some experiences because of their biology and socialization, we assume that female politicians would adopt legislation dealing with women's issues since they are a part of a group whose status they are trying to improve. Nevertheless, legislative bodies are limited in their ability to provide substantive representation, so there is a need for multiple sources of representation of women (Weldon 2002, 1154). Movements, community leaders, and interest groups are also potentially effective in representing women, so parliament is not the only institution that can represent women's interests (Celis et al 2014, 155). In the next subsection, I will concentrate on women's movements as a part of civil society.

2.3.3.2. Women's Movements

Civil society plays a crucial role for SRW. It serves as a counter-balance to the state power, which is especially important for SRW since the state institutions, notably parliaments, remain male-dominated. It also serves as space for solidarity and pluralism around normative notions of gender, rights, and equality, as well as space for civility, which is based on beliefs of a notion of shared humanity established on rights and recognition. Participation in civil society organizations (CSO) allows women to make claims about their oppression and marginalization relying on the notion of shared humanity (Chaney 2016, 202).

Women's movements are a type of social movement that constitute a part of civil society. We can define social movements as "sustained, organized, voluntary challenges to an established authority", while women's movements are "social movements in which a preponderance of participants and leaders are women" (Htun & Weldon 2012, 554). Those women's movements that are based on the idea that the society is disadvantageous for women, and aim to improve women's social status, reach gender equality, and eradicate patriarchy, are called feminist movements (Ibid.).

In order to be able to represent women substantially, a movement needs to be autonomous. An autonomous women's movement is a movement independent from political parties and other

associations that do not view improving women's status as their main goal. Those movements can draw attention to the issues that were not seen as a priority, and increase accountability of the governmental institutions (Weldon 2002, 1161). Autonomous women's movements, because of their self-organization, produce social knowledge about women's social position and develop priorities that are unique for them as a group. In these circumstances, women feel more secure to speak up because they are not restricted by bureaucracy or societal pressure, and bring up the issues that challenge male domination. Moreover, the strength of the autonomous women's movements is that women's empowerment is their main concern, and they do not need to struggle to bring it to the agenda like in the case of political institutions (Htun & Weldon 2012, 553). They protest, engage in lobbying, organize events where activists can get in contact with government officials, and change cultural norms through different activities. As a result, they are able to create political will to address specific women's issues, shape government and public agenda, and demand broader institutional reforms (Ibid., 554).

Women's movements are especially important for addressing violence against women (VAW), which is one of the most universal women's issues. Autonomous women's movements are the key actors that pressure the governments to take action on combating VAW, and, although individual female parliamentarians may be bringing the issue into the agenda, they usually have awareness about the issue because of their connection to a women's movement (Htun & Weldon 2012, 553).

The transnational women's movements play an important role in pushing the VAW agenda into international agreements. They disseminate the knowledge about VAW, press for government action, and support organization of local women's networks. All those actions have led to the adoption of the multiple documents regarding women's rights (Htun & Weldon 2012, 555).

2.3.3.3. Women's Policy Agencies

Women's policy agencies (WPAs) (also called machineries) are considered as another channel of SRW. A WPA is a "government body responsible for promoting the status of women" (Weldon 2002, 1158), and these state agencies serve as a link between women's movements and legislative bodies. WPAs allow women's movements to influence the legislative agenda by promoting incorporation of women's issues into public policies (Lovenduski 2008, 174). Although WPAs do not guarantee to include all the women's movements goals into the political agenda, they draw attention to the gender differences in interests into policy debates, as well as emphasize the role of female civil society activists in policy making (Lovenduski 2008, 175).

In order to be an effective channel of SRW, a WPA has to be independent to a certain degree, have some own resources, and have an authority that allows pushing women's agenda through the different departments (Weldon 2002, 1159-1160). The other conditions for success also depend on

the party in power, openness of policy sub-system, and commitment and unity of the women's movement promoting a particular issue (Celis et al. 2008, 103). However, the main condition for successful work of a WPA is the existence of a strong autonomous women's movement. This movement needs to be able to actively participate in a policy debate and achieve the outcome that corresponds to its goals (Lovenduski 2008, 176). This gives a WPA more influence on the government and allows it to perform its function of representing women's interests, which, in return, reinforces the strength of a women's movement (Weldon 2002, 1162).

To summarize, the literature review has concentrated on three issues. First, it made an overview of the change that happened in peacekeeping, discussed the UNSCR 1325 which became a milestone in recognizing and encouraging women's impact in PKOs, and illustrated the positive effects of deploying female personnel. Second, it looked at the main obstacles to improving gender balance in peacekeeping and presented the factors facilitating inclusion of women in PKOs. Finally, the last part of the literature review concentrated on women's political empowerment, substantive representation of women, and the channels of substantive representation such as parliaments, women's movements, and women's policy agencies, that also serve as the components of WPE.

3. Theory

Since the relationship between women's political empowerment and gender balance in peacekeeping has not been explored before, the main contribution of this thesis is to establish and analyze the relationship between these two concepts. Thus, the aim of this study is to find out whether the level of WPE has an impact on women's participation in peacekeeping, and the research question that derives from the research aim is *How does a country's level of women's political empowerment impact the level of gender balance in the peacekeeping troops?*

Relying on the research about women's presence in PKOs and women's political empowerment discussed in the literature review section, I assume that there might be a relationship between these concepts. I justify this assumption in several ways. First, I view participation of women in peacekeeping as a women's issue, so female parliamentarians and civil society activists would be in favour of improving access of women into PKOs. Increased number of women in this male-dominated space would help to extend the number of women's choices on labour market, alter the perception of women in PKOs in accordance with their traditional gender roles, and change the institutional culture, which could also lead to the better response to the needs of the local women affected by conflict.

Second, the main driving force for better inclusion of women in the PKOs was to eliminate sexual exploitation and abuse, which is one of the examples of violence against women (VAW). VAW is central to women's inferior status to men, and it affects women in public and private life, so elimination of VAW has been recognized around the world as one of the women's issues that hinders improvement of women's status (Weldon 2002, 1162). Thus, I assume that TCCs with the high level of WPE would include more women into their troops deployed on PKOs in order to eliminate SEA of women.

Finally, female representatives of the civil society took a big part in developing the UNSCR 1325 and advocating for its adoption. At the 1975 Un International Women's Year conference in Mexico City, it was acknowledged that not only governments should contribute to the promotion of women's issues, but the work of the other actors, including the transnational networks of women's organizations, needs to be equally taken into consideration. Particularly, the main representative of the civil society that contributed to the process of production of the UNSCR 1325 was the Non-Governmental Organisation Working Group on Women, Peace and Security (NGO WG), which is a coalition of several civil society organizations (CSOs). By the time of UNSCR 1325 adoption in 2000, the NGO WG consisted of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Amnesty International (AI), International Alert (IA), the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (WCRWC), and the Hague Appeal for Peace (HAP) (Shepherd 2008, 387-388). Thus, I expect that the countries with the high levels of WPE would be motivated to respect the Resolution and include more female personnel into the missions.

Hence, the hypothesis that will be tested is *The higher the level of women's political empowerment in a troop contributing country is, the more women it deploys to the peacekeeping operations.*

4. Research Design

This section of the thesis presents the practical way in which the hypothesis is tested. First, I discuss the data sources used for the analysis. Second, I operationalize the variables, including dependent, independent, and control variables in order to be able to measure the concepts discussed in the literature review. In the end of the section the research method employed for the analyses is explained.

4.1. Data

The data used for the analysis is drawn from several data sources such as the International Peace Institute Peacekeeping Database, V-Dem Country-Year Dataset, QoG Standard Dataset, and the World Factbook by the Central Intelligence Agency.

In order to measure my dependent variable *Percentage of female personnel*, I have used the International Peace Institute (IPI) Peacekeeping Database (International Peace Institute 2018). The database was developed as a part of a research project Providing for Peacekeeping hosted by the IPI, and it aims to analyze the factors that influence a decision of the states to contribute to the UN PKOs. The data is taken from the UN archives; it includes the information about the numbers of uniformed personnel deployed to the UN PKOs by each troop contributing country starting from November 1990. The data is disaggregated by month, by mission, by type of personnel (troop, police, expert/observer), and, starting from November 2009, by gender (male/female). The database fills the previously existing gap since the full data on uniformed contributions to UN peacekeeping was not available for the researchers in a form of a dataset containing aggregated data both on missions and TCCs, and some data was only available in a form of photocopied documents (Perry & Smith 2013, 1-2).

The measurements of my independent variables *Percentage of women in parliament* and *Women's participation in CSOs* and one control variable are drawn from the V-Dem dataset (Coppedge et al. 2018, V-Dem Country-Year Dataset v8). This database was created by the Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Institute, which is a research institute based at the Department of Political Science at University of Gothenburg. The V-Dem project aims to conceptualize and measure democracy; it distinguishes among five principles of democracy, and disaggregates them into lower-level components of democracy, providing indicators for them. The database contains over a million data points and covers 201 countries from 1789 to 2017. It allows the researchers to analyze the process of democratization, understand the causes and effects of democracy, as well as its components (V-Dem Project).

The measurements of two of my control variables are taken from the QoG Standard dataset (Teorell et al. 2018), developed by the Quality of Government (QoG) Institute. It is an independent research institute based at the Department of Political Science at University of Gothenburg; it conducts research on good governance and quality of government, specifically on “how to create and maintain high quality government institutions and how the quality of such institutions influences public policy and socio-economic conditions in a broader sense” (QoG Institute, a). The Standard dataset is the largest dataset of the QoG Institute, and it consists of more than 2000 variables from more than a hundred data sources. I am using the cross-sectional data from the dataset, which includes data from and around 2014 (QoG Institute, b).

The last source of data used in the analysis is the World Factbook by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which is prepared for the use of US policymakers. The information is collected by different US Government agencies, as well as drawn from various publications. The World Factbook presents the facts about every country's geography, people and society, government,

economy, energy, communications, transportation, military and security, and transnational issues. (The World Factbook, 2016).

All the data used in this study has been gathered by the established and well-known institutions. It is regularly updated, so all the measurements are relatively new. However, there is a problem of missing values, which shrank the sample of countries included in the final analysis. Moreover, there was no data available for measuring some of the concepts. This will be further discussed in the next section presenting operationalization of the variables used in the analysis.

4.2. Operationalization of the Variables

4.2.1. Dependent Variable

In order to measure gender balance in peacekeeping, specifically women's involvement as uniformed personnel in UN peacekeeping missions, I use gender data from the International Peace Institute (IPI) Peacekeeping Database (International Peace Institute 2018).

The latest data the IPI dataset contains is from 2017; however, since March 2014 the gender data was only available disaggregated by missions. Since I am interested in the number of women in all PKOs without paying attention to particular operations, I have used the last available data from February 2014. It includes the total number of women serving as uniformed personnel (troops, police, and experts/observers) in all peacekeeping missions taking place during that time. Taking into consideration that different TCCs deploy a different number of peacekeepers, I have created a new country-level variable *Female personnel, %*, which is a percentage of female personnel in PKOs per country computed using the measurements of the total number of personnel and the total number of female personnel.

The distribution of the variable is skewed and the error terms are not normally distributed, so I have logged the created variable in order to have a normal distribution and be able to have a linear relationship between my predictors and outcome variable (see Appendix 2). Since several countries did not include women in their troops, the values for some observations were equal to 0. In order to be able to transform the variable with 0 values with a logarithm, I added 1 to all the values.

4.2.2. Independent Variables

In the literature review section women's political empowerment was defined as "the enhancement of assets, capabilities, and achievements of women to gain equality to men in influencing and exercising political authority worldwide" (Alexander, Bolzendahl & Jalalzai 2016, 433), and the ways to do this as increasing the number of women in parliaments, participation of women in women's movements, as well as state agencies. Thus, my independent variable *Women's political empowerment* is operationalized through breaking it down to several components

corresponding to the channels of SRW (legislative bodies, women's movements, and women's policy agencies) discussed in the literature review.

In order to know whether women are able to exercise their political power on the elite level, I look at the percentage of women in parliaments. The measurement of my variable *Women in parliaments, %* is taken from the V-Dem Country-Year Dataset, variable *Lower chamber female legislators (v2lgefemleg)* (Coppedge et al. 2018, V-Dem Country-Year Dataset v8). It shows the percentage of women in the lower (or unicameral) chamber of the legislature (Coppedge et al. 2018, V-Dem Codebook v8, 138). Since it includes time-series data, I only took the measurements from 2014 because the data for the outcome variable is from 2014, and replaced missing values with data available from the closest year.

The most suitable way of operationalization of women's participation in women's movements would be to use a measurement of the number of women's movements with differentiations based on their autonomy and strength. However, since there is no publicly available data on this number from around 2014, I look at the women's participation in CSOs. I use it as a proxy variable, *Women's participation in CSOs*, which captures a larger phenomenon of women's participation in civil society without paying particular attention to the nature of this participation (whether the CSOs specifically pursue women's issues). I chose the measurement from the same V-Dem dataset, variable *CSO women's participation (v2csgender)* (Coppedge et al. 2018, V-Dem Country-Year Dataset v8) with data from 2014 as its measurement. The variable measures whether women are prevented from participation in CSOs because of their gender and/or because CSOs focus on women's issues. The measurement scale ranges from 0 to 4, where 0 means that women are almost always prevented from participation in CSOs, and 4 – almost never (Coppedge et al. 2018, V-Dem Codebook v8, 177-178).

Although there is another component, women's policy agencies, it is not included in the analysis due to the data limitations. As in the case of the number of women's movements, there is no publicly available data about the number of those policy agencies and their activities, and I was not able to find a suitable proxy variable. Therefore, the analysis contains only two independent variables, *Women in parliaments, %* and *Women's participation in CSOs*.

4.2.3. Control Variables

In order to isolate the relationship between the dependent and independent variables, I introduce several control variables such as *Female labour force, %*, *Electoral democracy*, *Protestants, %*, *Real GDP per capita*, and *Host country of a PKO*.

Female labour force, %. Greater participation of women in labour force creates a supply of female workers; it brings cultural and structural changes in the society that lead to better acceptance

of women in the military. Thus, the more women participate in the labour force, the more of them are represented in the armed forces (Segal 1995, 766-767), which can be deployed on the PKOs. The measurement of this control variable is taken from the QoG Standard dataset, variable *Labor force, female (% of total labor force) (wdi_lfpf)* (Teorell et al. 2018), and it indicates the percentage of total labour force, showing the extent of women's participation in it. Labour force consists of people who are 15 years old and older who meet the definition of economically active population by International Labour Organization (ILO) (QoG Codebook, 675).

Electoral democracy. Since democracies are representative, responsive, and accountable to the citizens, they are supposed to be attentive to their citizens of all genders. We can expect democracies to have a more gender-balanced public sector and, as a result, have more available female personnel for deployment (Crawford et al. 2015, 263). As a measurement of electoral democracy, I use data from 2014 drawn from the V-Dem Country-Year Dataset, variable *Electoral democracy index (v2x_polyarchy)* (Coppedge et al. 2018, V-Dem Country-Year Dataset v8). It indicates the extent to which the ideal of electoral democracy is achieved. Electoral democracy includes a free and fair electoral competition, rulers elected in that competition and responsive to the citizens, extensive suffrage, freely operating political and civil society organizations, and freedom of expression and independent media. The measurement is from low to high on a scale from 0 to 1 (Coppedge et al. 2018, V-Dem Codebook v8, 40).

Protestants, %. In Protestant churches women have traditionally enjoyed greater organizational and financial power, and been able to have formal clerical power and be the leaders of prayer. Most of the nations where Protestantism has played a religio-cultural role were the pioneers of adoption of formal and informal norms of gender equality not only within churches but also within the society (Harrison 2001, 12254-12255). Therefore, since women in those countries are already represented within traditionally male-dominated institutions (such as church), and are less subjected to conforming to the traditional gender norms and roles, I expect that the TCCs with the large presence of Protestants would provide more female personnel to the PKOs. The measurement is taken from the World Factbook by the CIA (The World Factbook, 2016). There is no dataset with aggregated data available, so the observations were drawn from the separate country profiles, "People and Society" section. The data for different countries comes from different years after 2000. It indicates a percentage of the total country's population who identify as Protestants (without division into denominations).

Real GDP per capita. GDP per capita is included since it is often used as a standard control variable. It can serve as an indicator of development and the standard of living in a particular country, so I expect more women in the countries with higher GDP per capita to be able to pursue a career in different areas rather than care about their survival needs. I use the measurement from the

QoG Standard dataset, variable *Real GDP per Capita (2005)* (*gle_rgdp*) (Teorell et al. 2018), which is the “estimate of real GDP per Capita in constant US dollars at base year 2000” (QoG Codebook, 330). The variable is drawn from Gleditsch (2002). Because the distribution of the variable is skewed, I have transformed it with a logarithm into a new variable *Real GDP per capita*. This allows having a normal distribution of the variable, and a linear relationship between this control variable and the dependent variable.

Host country of a PKO. I assume that if a country has ever hosted a PKO itself, it might be aware of the problems that need to be addressed during the mission, and the positive impact of female personnel on the outcome of a PKO. Thus, I have created a dummy variable which indicates whether a TCC has ever hosted a UN PKO on its territory. The value of 1 means yes, and 0 – no. The list of the missions is taken from the UN Peacekeeping official website (United Nations Peacekeeping, b).

4.3. Method

Since a change of gender norms and change of women’s position in a society is a long-term process, and the data about gender is available from November 2009 to December 2017, the time span of around eight years is not sufficient to conduct a time-series cross-sectional analysis to illustrate the trends. Therefore, in this study I conduct a cross-sectional analysis, in which the data used is measured at one point of time.

Because more than 30 observations are included in my sample, a large-N study is designed, and the analysis is conducted on the country level. My original sample includes 119 countries that made a contribution to the UN peacekeeping missions in 2014 by deploying uniformed personnel; however, due to the data availability, the final model includes 102 TCCs. The analysis is conducted by using regression analysis, specifically the method of ordinary least squares (OLS). It allows for establishing a controlled relationship between the variables and observing the strength of impact of predictors on an outcome. In addition, a generalized linear model (GLM) with robust estimators was employed in order to avoid the problems associated with heteroscedasticity. Since I use more than one independent variable, a multivariate regression is run. The software used for the analysis is IBM SPSS Statistics 24.

5. Diagnostics

In order to be able to conduct the regression analysis using the OLS method, several regression assumptions have to be met. The diagnostics include all the variables used in the final model, including the dependent, independent, and control variables.

In order to make sure that no independent variable is a linear function of another independent variable, I have checked for multicollinearity. The correlation matrix that presents Pearson correlation coefficient (Appendix 4) does not include any values higher than .8 or lower than -.8; moreover, the variance inflation factor (VIF) values for all the variables do not exceed the threshold of 5 (Appendix 5), meaning that the problem of multicollinearity was not detected.

The residuals of the dependent variable are normally distributed since the standard deviation is just below 1, but the P-P plot looks that there are some deviations from the ideal line. Since the assumption of homoscedasticity has to be met, I have checked whether the variance of the error terms is constant by plotting the residuals against the predicted values (Appendix 10). The scatterplot shows that there might be a problem of heteroscedasticity, so I have run an additional regression with heteroscedasticity-robust standard errors employing GLM. Because the standard errors fluctuate in a way that indicates a possible problem of heteroscedasticity, the results of the regression analysis will be reported using the robust estimator.

Since some observations might greatly influence the final model, I have checked for the extreme outliers using Cook's distance (Appendix 11). The threshold was calculated using the formula $N/4$ or $4/102=0.0392$. After excluding the observations exceeding this threshold and running another regression with the remaining 96 cases, I can conclude that the outliers did not drastically influence the relationship between the independent variables and the outcome.

6. Results and Analysis

In order to test my hypothesis, I have run a multivariate regression using OLS, as well as using GLM in order to have the results with robust estimators. The control variables are being introduced one by one in order to see the effect of the different controls. Since I am not interested in the effects of the independent variables *Women in parliaments, %* and *Women's participation in CSOs* on the *Female personnel logged* separately and I treat them as a measurement of the concept of WPE, no models that include only one of those predictors were run. The table below presents the results of the regression model including only the independent variables and the outcome variable, several models when the controls are being added to them, the full model including all control variables, and the model without the outliers.

Multivariate Regression. The Effect of *Women in Parliaments, %* and *Women's Participation in CSOs* on *Female Personnel Logged* with Robust Standard Errors

DV:							Model 7
Female personnel logged	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	(no outliers)
Women in parliaments, %	.006 (.0085)	.002 (.0084)	.004 (.0086)	-.001 (.0093)	-.002 (.0092)	-.003 (.0095)	-.002 (.0075)
Women's participation in CSOs	.407*** (.1489)	.178 (.1713)	.305 (.1998)	.311 (.2189)	.217 (.2135)	.228 (.2164)	-.090 (.1738)
Female labour force, %		.041*** (.0123)	.041*** (.0127)	.039** (.0138)	.044*** (.0142)	.047*** (.0137)	.062*** (.0113)
Electoral democracy			-.714 (.5175)	-.877 (.5435)	-1.347** (.5956)	-1.224** (.6034)	-1.227* (.5942)
Protestants, %				.009 (.0064)	.010 (.0064)	.010 (.0063)	.014*** (.0048)
Real GDP per capita logged					.173** (.0856)	.193** (.0870)	.236*** (.0826)
Host country of a PKO						.344 (.2678)	.234 (.2358)
Constant	.795*** (.2209)	-.535 (.3713)	-.333 (.4212)	-.150 (.4714)	-1.462 (.8297)	-1.901** (.8554)	-2.556*** (.7768)
R ²	.071	.131	.144	.176	.198	.212	.554
N	117	117	117	102	102	102	96

Note: *p≤0.1 **p≤0.05 ***p≤0.01. Robust standard errors within parentheses.

Model 1 is a multivariate regression showing an impact of *Women in parliaments, %* and *Women's participation in CSOs* on *Female personnel logged*. Only the relationship between *Women's participation in CSOs* and *Female personnel logged* is statistically significant. The b-coefficient is .407, so a one unit increase in *Women's participation in CSOs* would cause 40.7% increase in the percentage points measured by the dependent variable². The R² is .071, so this model explains only 7% of the variation in the response variable.

² The dependent variable is logged, so a one unit change in a predictor variable is associated with a change in an outcome variable by the b-coefficient*100 percent. However, since the units of *Female personnel, %* are already percents, a change in the dependent variable would happen by the b-coefficient*100 percent in the percentage points measured by it.

Model 2 introduces the first control variable *Female labour force, %*. The relationship between *Women's participation in CSOs* and *Female personnel logged* becomes insignificant and stays insignificant in the rest of the following models. However, the relationship between *Female labour force, %* and *Female personnel logged* is highly significant. The b-coefficient is .041, meaning that a one percent increase in *Female labour force, %* causes 4,1% increase in the percentage points measured by the dependent variable. This model explains 13% of the variation in the response variable ($R^2=0.131$).

Model 3 introduces another control variable *Electoral democracy*, but the relationship between it and the dependent variable is not significant. Model 4 contains an additional control variable *Protestants, %*, and the relationship between it and *Female personnel logged* is neither significant. In both models *Female labour force, %* still stays significant. The models explain 14% and 18% of the variation in the dependent variable respectively ($R^2=0.144$ in Model 3 and .176 in Model 4).

In Model 5, a control variable *Real GDP per capita logged* is added to the regression model. The relationship between it and *Female personnel logged* is significant, and the b-coefficient is .173, meaning that a one percent increase in this control variable causes 17% increase in the percentage points measured by the dependent variable. The relationship between the *Electoral democracy* and *Female personnel logged* got statistically significant. The regression coefficient is -1.347, so an increase in *Electoral democracy* by one unit causes a 135% decrease in the percentage points measured by the response variable. *Female labour force, %* stays highly significant in this model. R^2 is .198, so Model 5 explains 20% of the variation in the outcome variable.

Model 6 introduces the last control variable *Host country of a PKO*, so the model contains *Female personnel logged* as a dependent variable, *Women in parliaments, %* and *Women's participation in CSOs* as independent variables, and *Female labour force, %*, *Electoral democracy*, *Protestants, %*, *Real GDP per capita logged*, and *Host country of a PKO* as control variables. There is no significant relationship between the dependent variable and *Host country of a PKO*. The b-coefficient for the relationship between *Real GDP per capita logged* and *Female personnel logged* has changed to .193, so a one percent increase in this control variable causes 19% increase in the percentage points measured by the dependent variable. The b-coefficient for the relationship between the dependent variable and *Electoral democracy* changed from -1.347 to -1.224, so in this model an increase in *Electoral democracy* by one unit causes a 122% decrease in the percentage points measured by the outcome variable. The relationship between *Protestants, %* and the dependent variable did not get significant, and the one between *Female labour force, %* and *Female personnel logged* still stays significant on the highest level. The b-coefficient is .047, so a one unit/percent increase in *Female labour force, %* would cause 5% increase in the percentage points

measured by the dependent variable. The $R^2=.212$, so Model 6 explains 21% of the variation in *Female personnel logged*.

Since several outliers were detected, Model 6, the final model, was also run with the outliers excluded (Model 7), so it includes 96 cases instead of 102. The biggest change in this model compared to the Model 6 is the variation in the dependent variable that is explained by this model, 55.4% compared to 21.2% in the final model that contains 102 cases ($R^2=.554$ and $.221$). However, the relationships between the main explanatory variable and the response variable did not change, so they stay insignificant in the model without the outliers. The relationship between *Host country of a PKO* and *Female personnel logged* stays insignificant, however, the one between *Protestants, %* and *Female personnel logged* becomes significant on the highest level. The regression coefficient is $.014$, so a one percent increase in this control variable causes 1% increase in the percentage points measured by the dependent variable. The significance of the relationship between *Electoral democracy* and *Female personnel logged* decreases, and the b-coefficient changes only from -1.224 to -1.227 . The relationships between *Real GDP per capita logged* and the dependent variable becomes statistically significant on the highest level, and the b-coefficient changes to $.236$, so a one percent increase in this control variable causes 24% increase in the percentage points measured by the dependent variable. The relationship between *Female labour force, %* and *Female personnel logged* is still statistically significant on the highest level, and the regression coefficient has increased to $.062$, meaning that a one percent increase in this control variable causes 6% increase in the percentage points measured by the dependent variable.

After analyzing all the models, I can conclude that I have to retain the null hypothesis because there is no significant relationship between *Women in parliaments, %* and *Women's participation in CSOs*, and *Female personnel logged*. The relationship between *Women in parliaments, %* and *Female personnel logged* was not significant in any model, and it was significant between *Women's participation in CSOs* and *Female personnel logged* only in the very first model that included just two explanatory variables. The relationships between *Female labour force, %*, *Electoral democracy*, *Real GDP per capita logged*, and *Female personnel logged* are statistically significant in the final regression model with and without the outliers, but the outliers have influenced the relationship between *Protestants, %* and the dependent variable since it gained significance in the model without the outliers.

7. Discussion

7.1. Interpretation of Findings

In order to test my hypothesis *The higher the level of women's political empowerment in a troop contributing country is, the more women it deploys to the peacekeeping operations*, I have conducted a multivariate regression analysis using the OLS method. The final analysis has included 102 countries because of some missing data, however, the initial sample has included 119 countries that sent peacekeepers to the missions in 2014, so I generalize the finding to all the troop contributing countries.

The results of the analysis provide no support for the hypothesis. None of the components of WPE included in the regression model, representation of women in legislative bodies and their participation in CSOs, showed an impact on the number of female personnel that a country includes into its peacekeeping troops. Since no significant relationship between my independent and dependent variables was found, I can conclude that the level of women's political empowerment in a TCC does not influence the level of gender balance in its peacekeeping troops.

Although exploring the influence of other factors on the number of women deployed on PKOs is not the main aim of this thesis, there are some findings worth mentioning about them since they were included in the regression model as control variables.

Because the relationship between the percentage of women in labour force and the percentage of female personnel in PKOs is highly significant, I can conclude that women's participation in labour force has an effect on the number of female personnel a country deploys on peacekeeping missions. This finding corresponds to both main explanations of the deficit of women in peacekeeping presented in the theoretical discussion, such as small eligibility pool and gender norms and roles restraining women from serving in armed forces. If more women participate in the labour force, it could mean that more women would be available for service in national militaries, so a country would have qualified female personnel it could deploy on PKOs. A higher number of women in armed forces could also facilitate a shift in perception of women in terms of their traditional gender roles and make the military less male-dominated.

Another interesting finding is related to the relationship between a level of electoral democracy in a country and a level of gender balance in their peacekeeping troops. Even though I have expected that more democratic countries would deploy more women on PKOs, it was not proved to be the case. The analysis has shown that actually less democratic countries have more female personnel in their troops. A possible explanation of this phenomenon might be related to geographic proximity. Peacekeeping missions often take place in countries with a low level of democracy, and it tends to be the case for their neighbouring countries. Since the most time- and cost-efficient way

of getting peacekeepers to the conflict zone is to deploy them from the countries from the same geographic region, those countries may have more women in their troops because it would be easier to withdraw them from a mission and return them home in case the conditions of a PKO get too life-threatening, or because of the existing gender rules, for example that women should not be away from their families for a long time.

Real GDP per capita also has an impact on the number of female personnel deployed to PKOs, specifically the countries with higher levels of GDP per capita have more women in their peacekeeping troops. As it was discussed previously, it might be explained by the ability of women in the prosperous countries to choose their career and concentrate on its development rather than have to care about the survival needs.

Lastly, because the relationship between the number of Protestants in a country and a number of women it deploys to PKOs was significant in the model without the outliers and not significant in the model including all the initial countries, I am not able to have a clear conclusion whether Protestantism plays a role in gender balance in peacekeeping troops.

7.2. Limitations and Future Research

Firstly, the biggest limitation of this study derives from data availability. Although the theoretical discussion has presented three components of women's political empowerment such as women's representation in legislative bodies, women's participation in women's movements, and existence of women's policy agencies, I was not able to incorporate all of them into the analysis since there is no data about WPAs available. Women's participation in women's movements was also measured by using a proxy variable which captures broader participation of women in civil society because data about the number of women's movements and their nature is not available. Additionally, for some countries the data about religious composition only included the percentage of Christians without differentiation between its forms. Since the measurements for several observations of the percentage of Protestants were missing, it shrank my sample. Moreover, because the data on gender composition of PKOs is available only since 2009, it was not possible to explore a change over time.

Secondly, there was no possibility to conduct a robustness check by running a regression model using different measurements for the same concepts since one of the independent variables, *Women's participation in CSOs*, is already a proxy variable, and another one, *Women in parliaments, %* is just capturing a percentage of people from the whole group, so there is no other way to have a different measurement for the percentage of female legislators.

Finally, given that the analysis has been conducted on a country level, I have controlled only for the internal factors that could influence a level of gender balance in peacekeeping troops. The

external factors related to characteristics of particular missions that could impact a decision to deploy women were not included.

The limitations of this study help to have some considerations for future research. Because there was no possibility to include all the components of WPE into the analysis, it might have affected the results of the study. Hence, there is a need to collect data about WPAs and data measuring the number and nature of women's movements in order to conduct a comprehensive study about a possible connection between WPE and gender balance in peacekeeping. This study should also control for the influence of the factors related to the mission characteristics. Moreover, when the data on gender composition of uniformed personnel to UN PKOs is available for more years, a time-series cross-sectional analysis should be conducted in order to illustrate the differences in gender composition at various time points.

8. Conclusion

Since the 1990s, the international community has paid substantial attention to the role of women in creating long-lasting peace. One of the ways that women can make their contribution to elimination of armed conflicts is by participation in peacekeeping. However, even after almost twenty years since the adoption of the UNSCR 1325, the number of female personnel in the peacekeeping missions is far from approaching the number of men deployed on PKOs. Hence, academics and practitioners are still discussing the ways to improve gender balance in peacekeeping. In order to contribute to this discussion theoretically and practically, this study has examined whether one particular factor such as a level of women's political empowerment encourages the troop contributing countries to include more women in their troops.

The link between a country's level of WPE and a level of gender balance in their peacekeeping troops was built by treating women's participation in PKOs as a women's issue. The hypothesis tested in this study assumed that there is a positive relationship between them, so the higher a level of WPE is in a country, the more female personnel it deploys on PKOs. In order to test this hypothesis, I have conducted a large N study of TCCs by employing the multivariate regression analysis using the OLS method and cross-sectional data.

The results of the analysis did not support my hypothesis. However, since only two out of three components of WPE were included in the analysis due to the problems with data availability, the conclusion is not definite and further research after collecting all the data is needed. Although a level of WPE did not show a significant influence on inclusion of women in peacekeeping, the results indicate that higher levels of participation of women in labour force and higher levels of GDP per capita are associated with higher levels of gender balance. In addition, contrary to the

expectation, more female personal is deployed from the countries with a low level of electoral democracy.

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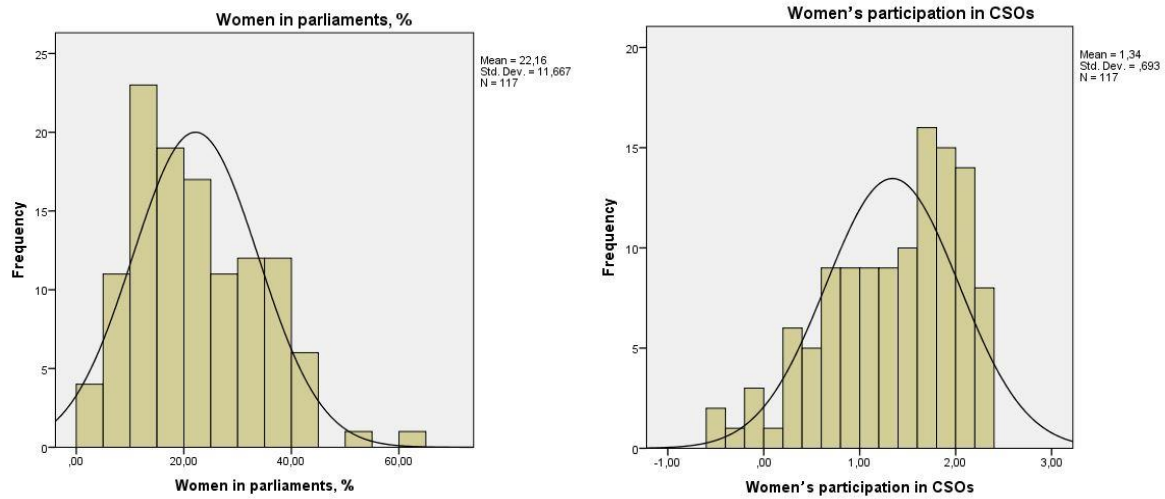
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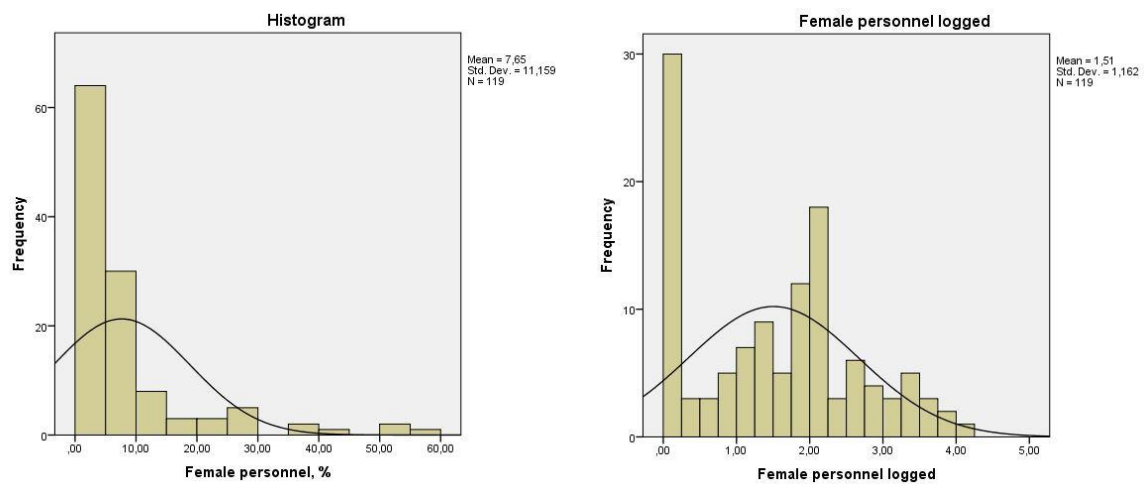
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Appendices

Appendix 1. Frequency Distribution of Independent Variables *Women in Parliaments, %* and *Women's Participation in CSOs*



Appendix 2. Frequency Distribution of Dependent Variable *Female Personnel, %* Before and After Log-transformation



Appendix 3. Descriptive Statistics of Dependent, Independent, and Control Variables

Variable	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation
Female personnel, %	119	0	58.33	7.650	4.149	11.159
Women in parliaments, %	117	0	63.80	22.159	20.000	11.667
Women's participation in CSOs	117	-.56	2.38	1.342	1.510	.693
Female labour force, %	119	13	55	42.361	45	8.253
Electoral democracy	117	.09	.93	.592	.630	.234
Protestants, %	103	0	75.30	15.547	2.500	21.939
Real GDP per capita	119	285.95	91787.54	12032.392	5691.600	14435.952
Host country of a PKO	119	0	1			

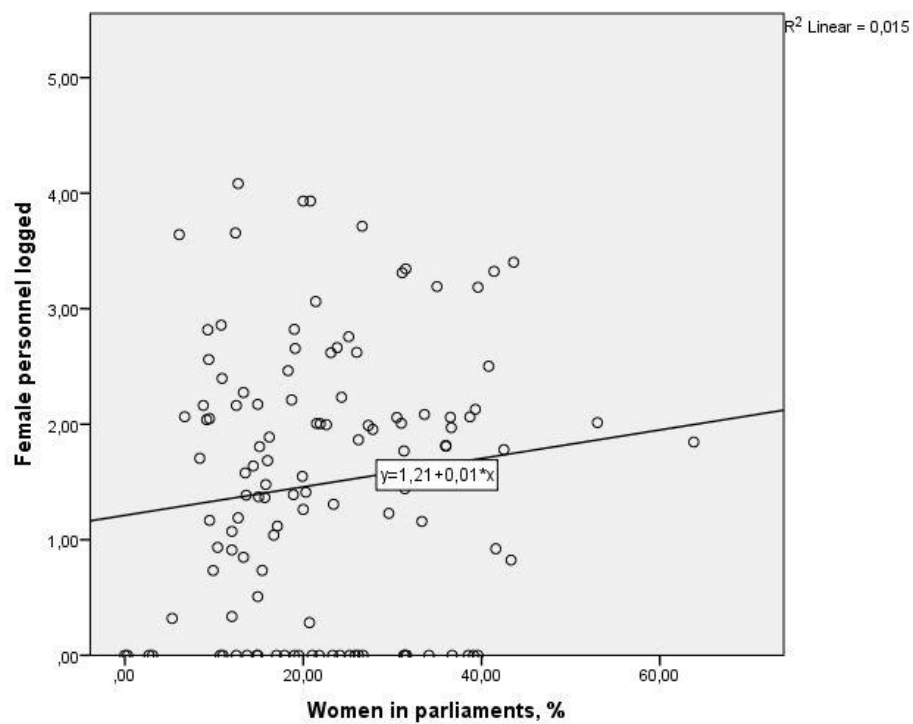
Appendix 4. Correlation Matrix (Pearson Correlation)

Variable	Female personnel logged	Women in parliaments, %	Women's participation in CSOs	Female labour force, %	Electoral democracy	Protestants, %	Real GDP per capita logged	Host country of a PKO
Female personnel logged	1							
Women in parliaments, %	.124	1						
Women's participation in CSOs	.259	.241	1					
Female labour force, %	.314	.278	.512	1				
Electoral democracy	.063	.308	.567	.312	1			
Protestants, %	.284	.240	.165	.318	.127	1		
Real GDP per capita logged	.071	.160	.321	-.054	.525	-.040	1	
Host country of a PKO	.036	-.057	-.258	-.171	-.308	-.083	-.321	1

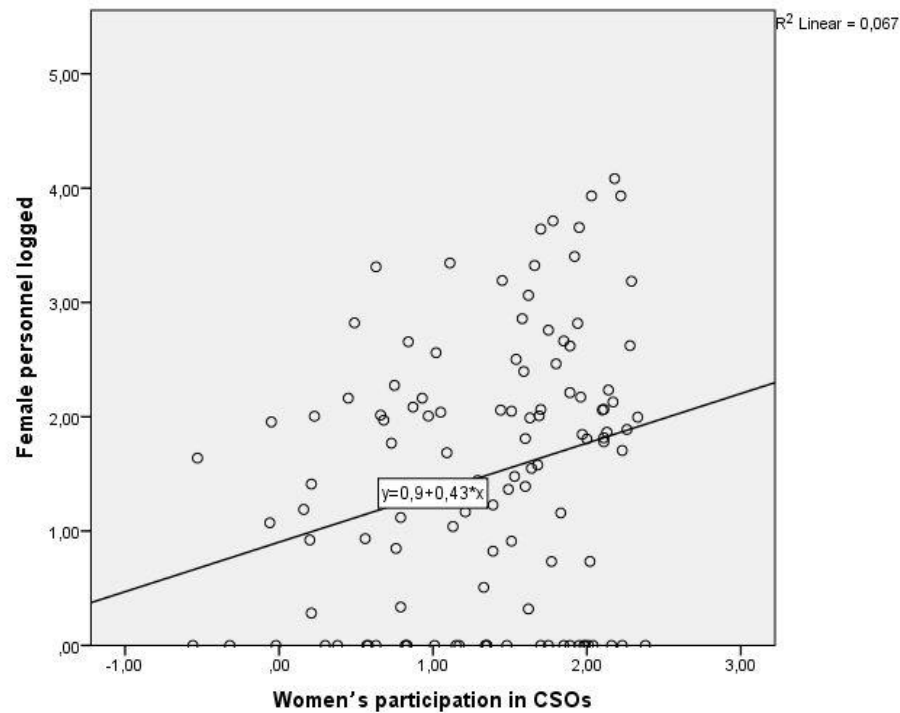
Appendix 5. Collinearity Statistics

Variable	Tolerance	VIF
Women in parliaments, %	.813	1.230
Women's participation in CSOs	.516	1.939
Female labour force, %	.631	1.586
Electoral democracy	.513	1.948
Protestants, %	.825	1.211
Real GDP per capita logged	.573	1.744
Host country of a PKO	.780	1.283

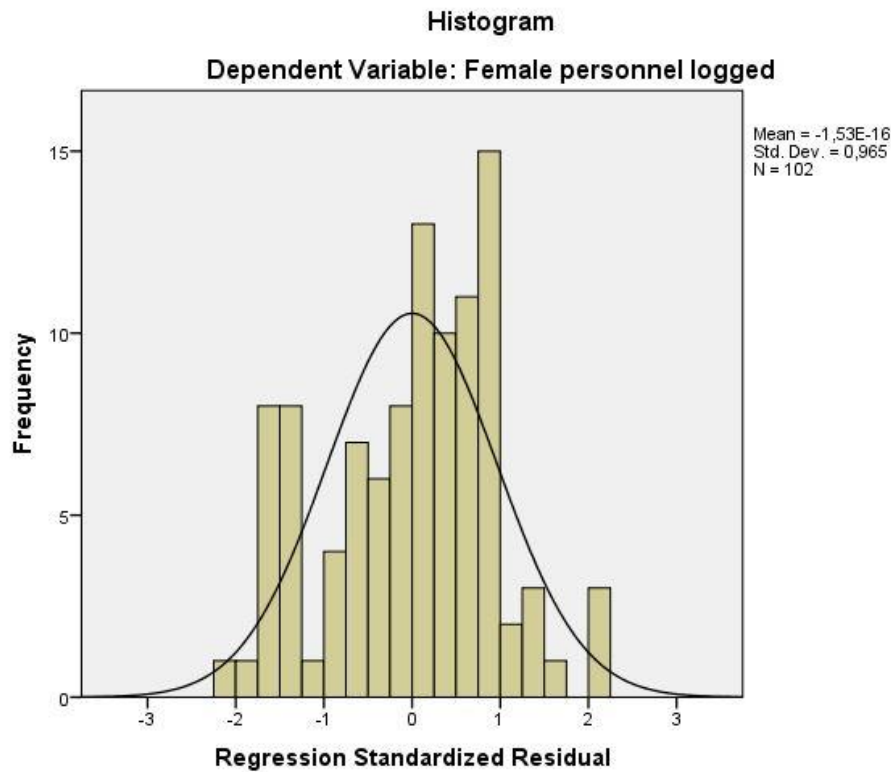
Appendix 6. Scatterplot of Women in Parliaments, % and Female Personnel Logged



Appendix 7. Scatterplot of Women’s Participation in CSOs and Female Personnel Logged

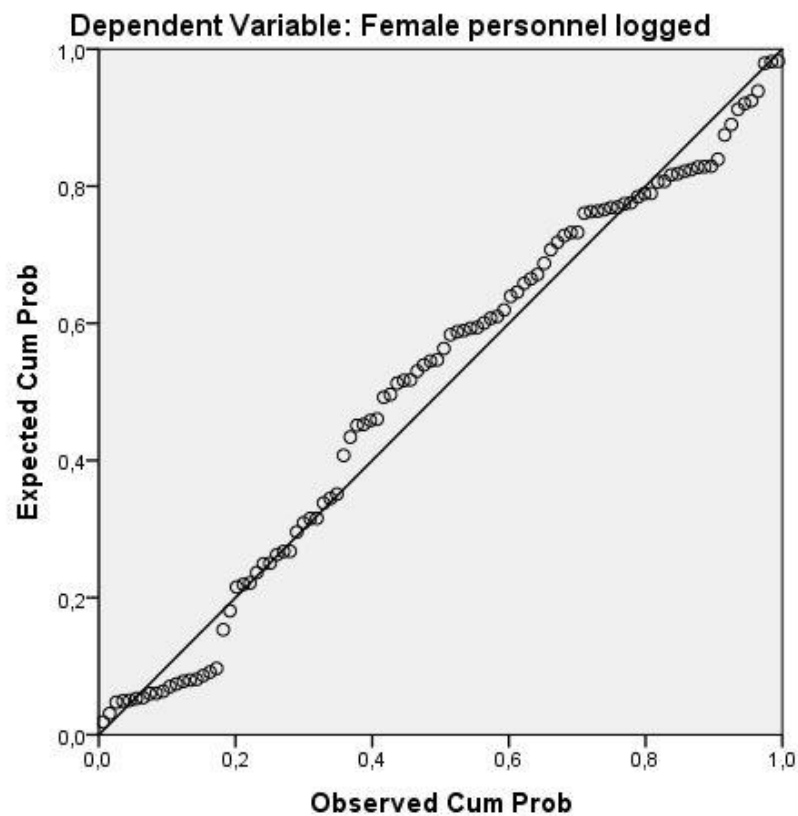


Appendix 8. Frequency Distribution of Regression Standardized Residuals

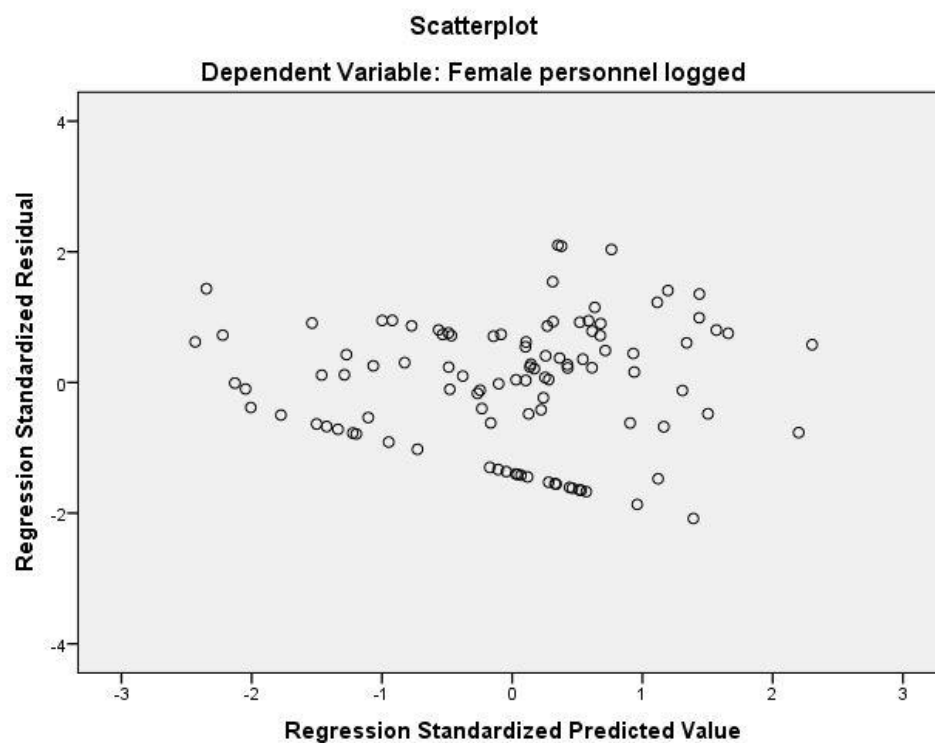


Appendix 9. Normal P-Plot of Regression Standardized Residuals

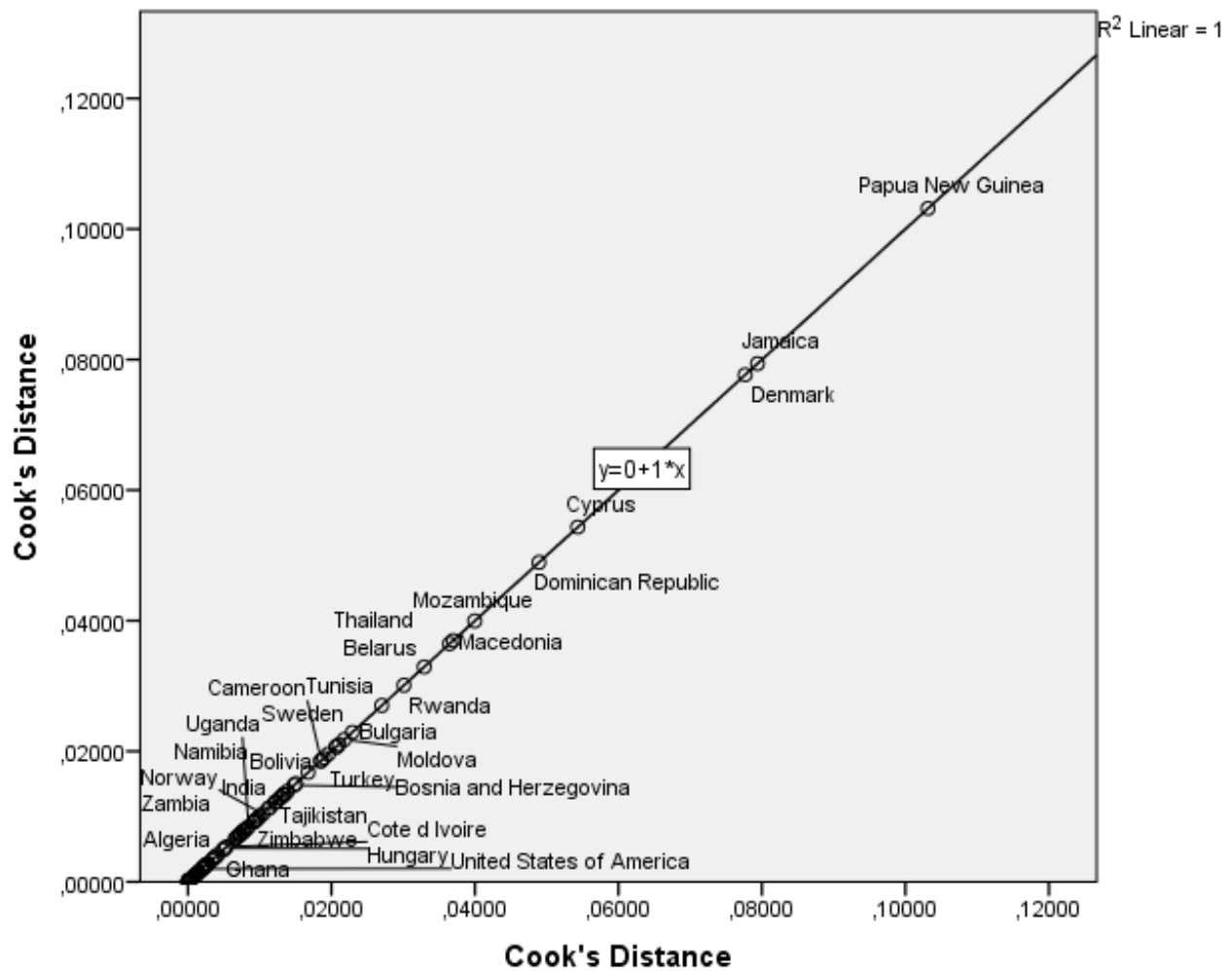
Normal P-P Plot of Regression Standardized Residual



Appendix 10. Scatterplot of Regression Standardized Residuals Plotted Against Regression Standardized Predicted Values



Appendix 11. Scatterplot of Cook's Distance.



Appendix 12. Multivariate Regression. The Effect of *Women in Parliaments, %* and *Women's Participation in CSOs* on *Female Personnel Logged* (Without Robust Standard Errors)

DV:							Model 7
Female personnel logged	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	(no outliers)
Women in parliaments, %	.006 (.009)	.002 (.009)	.004 (.009)	-.001 (.010)	-.002 (.010)	-.003 (.010)	-.002 (.009)
Women's participation in CSOs	.407*** (.155)	.178 (.172)	.305 (.196)	.311 (.205)	.217 (.211)	.228 (.211)	-.090 (.199)
Female labour force, %		.041*** (.015)	.041*** (.015)	.039** (.016)	.044*** (.016)	.047*** (.016)	.062*** (.015)
Electoral democracy			-.714 (.539)	-.877 (.560)	-.1.347** (.626)	-1.224* (.632)	-1,227* (.573)
Protestants, %				.009 (.005)	.010* (.005)	.010* (.005)	.014** (.005)
Real GDP per capita logged					.173 (.106)	.193* (.107)	.236** (.098)
Host country of a PKO						.344 (.272)	.234 (.259)
Constant	.795*** (.275)	-.535 (.547)	-.333 (.566)	-.150 (.626)	-1.462 (1.019)	-1.901* (1.073)	-2.556** (.987)
R ²	.071	.131	.144	.176	.198	.212	.554
N	117	117	117	102	102	102	96

Note: *p≤0.1 **p≤0.05 ***p≤0.01. Standard errors within parentheses.